1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwɛ'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bil did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926) he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an ofender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a residentof Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

724
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing
[841] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we
[881] did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband)
used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't
• [582] listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 333) was a
825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
789 who traveled about the country participating in the hand
game, often carried one. Bat power was considered ex-
[525] tremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it.
"My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an
old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it,
it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo
believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from
two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained
representatives from time to time at one or another
of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appall-
ingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and
neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Per-
manent missionizing efforts apparently have been
abandoned. One church group carries on a summer
[764] Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion ra-
[178] ther than the result of any real desire on the part of
the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem
to have simply incorporated Christian services as an-
other source of power. It is less than surprising that
a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have
found white doctors useful but white ministers a rath-
er mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

	Washo		No. Paiute		C.Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.87
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 582 141 161 [142] [439] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 611 602 606 595 587

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

[P. 358, B]

The extent of the Washo kinship system is elastic, but usually the range of recognized relatives is not extensive. Second cousins are brothers and sisters, but relationships are rarely traced that far. The children of grandparents' siblings are properly aunts and uncles (e.g., father's father's brother's daughter may be called father's sister, for father and his father's brother's daughter call each other brother and sister), but these relatives are usually not called aunts and uncles. Often my informants did not know the identity of the children of their grandparents' siblings; when they did know these persons, they sometimes called them by general terms meaning "my friend or distant relative." Occasionally, however, a person would call a child of a grandparent's sibling by the appropriate uncle or aunt term. Since the Washo are forbidden to marry relatives, a minute tracing of relationships would make it difficult to find a mate. This may account for the infrequency with which distant relatives are recognized.

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[582]

POLITE AFFINAL TERMS

The Washo use a set of polite, teknonymous terms for most affinal relatives. These are given in table 2. One informant gave two polite terms for sister's husband. He was called di·'i·'ea bumé·li· (my older sister's husband) as well as dimé·gu dagáy· (my sister's child's father). My notes contain only one polite term for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother); I have not recorded the logically possible term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." This suggests that the use of descriptive terms with "mother" in them may be more strongly prescribed than those containing "father." On the other hand, my informants may simply have failed to mention the descriptive term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." Since I did not explicitly investigate all the possible descriptive terms which may logically be used for affinal relatives, table 2 may not give a complete list of terms. Nevertheless, the essentials of the system are presented.

601
576

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

NOA 534

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ch	Ki	Ed	Ha	Ta	Ta	Ha	Wa	Ai	Ba	Ya	Wa	Li	Ar
1980a. Dreamtick: bushable on end	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•
1980. Fur on end	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•
*1981. Musical bow	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	*•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1982. Archer's bow used	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1983. Bow held in teeth	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1987. Bow plucked with fingers	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1988. Bow rubbed with stick	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1989. Bow used by antelope dances	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1985. As toy	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1988a.For dance	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1991. Whistle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•
*1992. Bone whistle: 1 hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1992a.2 holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1993. Willow whistle: as toy	-	-	-	-	-	*•	-	*•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1993a.Also for special dance (food dance)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
*1994. Flute (noise)	•	•	•	•	*•	-	-	-	•	•	•	*•	•	•
*1995. Flute: elderberry	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1997. Bone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1998. Length (in.): about 18	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1998a.About 18	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2000. Pitch step	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2010. Holes: 4	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2010a.6	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2011. End blown	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2012. Blowing: by mouth	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2012a.By nose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2014. Use: for musical music	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2015. As toy	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2016. For courting	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2017. By shamans	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•
2017a.In hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•

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MARRIAGE

*2018. Bride price	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2019. As present	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2020. Reciprocal present	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	*•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2022. Marriage by abduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2023. Another's wife won by fight	•	•	•	•	•	*•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2023a.Wrestling	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-
2024. Friends assist in fight	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2025. Polygyny permitted	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2026. Sororal obligatory	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2026a.Sororal usual	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2027. Polyandry permitted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	•	•	•	•	•	-
2029. Sororate	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2030. Required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2030a.Customary	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2031. Levirate	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2032. Required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2032a.Customary	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2038. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2034a.Mother's brother's daughter preferred	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	*•	-	-	-	-	•
2037. Child betrothal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	•

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